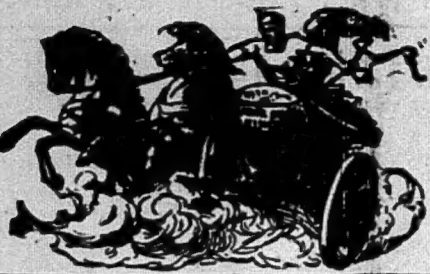


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VOL. IX.—NO. 22.

HENRY KUHN, Nat'l Sec'y, S.L.P.

NEW YORK, AUGUST 27, 1899.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

TROLLEYMEN,

Educate, Organize, Learn and Act to a Purpose!

Fifteen hundred Brooklyn trolley men are out of employment at the present moment because of the recent trolley strike. With the families of the strikers a population equal to that of a small town is in misery in consequence of their defeat.

An occurrence that results in a disaster of such dimensions must be worthy of the attention of every workman.

The trolley men who are now suffering are paying the penalty of their carelessness in failing to study and grasp the lessons of previous experiences in the class struggle, of which they, the trolley workers of Brooklyn, had themselves furnished a most instructive one.

Many of the trolley men who have lost their employment through the recent strike were also participants in the famous contest of 1895. After that had ended in defeat and disaster, there was for years a unanimity of opinion among the Brooklyn trolley men that there would never be another strike. And because they thought so they did not bother about getting a clear understanding of the conditions leading to that strike and the cause of its defeat. And because they did not get that understanding they were, when conditions made another strike possible, run into the same hole as in 1895.

The strike of 1895 was brought on by the pressure of accumulated capital seeking a share in the profits of the surface railroad traffic of Brooklyn. With the introduction of the trolley electric system as a motive power this traffic increased enormously, the income of the railroad companies rose steadily, while the expenses of maintenance and operation were being lessened. The improvement of Brooklyn street railroad transportation as a capitalist business appears from the following figures, covering all the lines operated in 1892 and 1894 respectively:

	1892.	1894.
Passengers carried	125,445,587	145,618,619
Gross receipts	\$9,216,026	\$7,664,186
Expenses of maintenance and operation	\$4,907,995	\$4,625,485
Average expenses per passenger	3.9 cents	3.2 cents
Net income	\$1,368,031	\$2,238,701

As soon as the Brooklyn street railroads began to show their possibilities as capitalist "properties," they attracted the eager attention of the capitalist world. Some of those fellows who call their capital "idle" when it yields only 4 or 5 per cent, and are always on the lookout for new fields of "employment" for this "idle" capital of theirs negotiated with the then trolley magnates of Brooklyn for a chance to be let in on the division of the profits, or at least on the exploitation of the prospect for the larger profits to come.

Arrangements were accordingly made to widen the circle of those entitled to share in the spoils of the Brooklyn railroad traffic. Through new corporations which were formed with largely inflated capital stock, the attempt was to be made to so increase the "earnings" as to secure not only a larger income for the old companies than they had previously realized, but also to squeeze out some additional income for the new corporations. The largest of the new corporations was the Long Island Traction Company, formed with a capital of 20 million dollars. This company undertook the management of the lines of the Brooklyn Heights system and of several other companies, the total capitalization of which had previously been less than 14 million dollars. The Atlantic Avenue system was turned over to the Brooklyn Traction Company with an increase of capitalization from five to nine millions of dollars. In order to make the new arrangements successful, the same roads that had yielded an income of 19 millions had now to yield an income of 39 millions.

The capitalists who undertook this did not expect to be entirely successful. They did not expect to secure dividends to all the holders or buyers of their inflated stock. They did, however, expect to put the roads on a more profitable basis than they had ever been. And they proceeded to accomplish that much by what is called "economies." They reduced expenses, particularly cutting down that most important item of the expense account—the pay-roll. The trolley workers were squeezed and driven, until in the latter half of 1894 the expense of carrying a single passenger had been brought down to 3 cents—from 3 9-10 cents in 1892.

But the Brooklyn trolley magnates were by no means satisfied with this

accomplishment. They intended that their "economies" should be carried much farther. They undoubtedly foresaw to some extent the "economies" made possible in later years, when the average expense per passenger was reduced first to 2.6 cents and more recently to 2.3 cents.

The trolley magnates certainly acted as if they had already made up their minds about the necessity of subjecting their labor force to more thorough "economies." They did not make the slightest effort to allay the discontent that was growing more and more intense among their employees. They rather goaded on that discontent by taking the position that they were paying too much as it was. Said Lewis, the president of the Long Island Traction Company, before the Assembly Committee that was investigating the strike: "We were paying our men higher wages than the market rate."

When the trolley men, exasperated by overwork and underpay, were told that they were being treated too well, what else could be expected but an outbreak? The men were positively driven into a strike. And in the light of subsequent events it can hardly be doubted that the strike was quite welcome to certain interests most powerful in Brooklyn trolley affairs.

The Long Island Traction Company had to be reorganized; as a means of stock gambling it had become played out and as a basis for the extensive consolidation plans which were in the air it proved unsatisfactory. The discreditable features of a reorganization proceeding could no better be covered up, its attendant sacrifices no better be minimized than in the general rumus of a big strike.

How much the event may have been desired when it took place, can be surmised from a glance at the changed condition of things that was thereby brought about. The business year following the strike (June 30, 1895—June 30, 1896) was most remarkable for the enormous reduction of expenses in the operation of the railroads principally involved in the strike. The roads operated by the successor to the Long Island Traction Company had \$20,000 less expenses than in 1894, the year before the strike, so that their net earnings ran up to \$2,000,000, being \$440,000 in excess of 1894. And what was equally important, the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company was able, through the new capitalist interests that had become identified with it by the reorganization process, to initiate those steps that were finally to lead to the consolidation under its auspices of all the surface and elevated railroads of Brooklyn.

From all these circumstances it is quite apparent that the Brooklyn trolley strike of 1895, which brought nothing but misery and demoralization to the trolley workers, resulted very advantageously to the trolley capitalists and that it took place at a time when it could best be turned to the capitalists' advantage.

The time was most opportune for the capitalists for another reason made clear by the events of the strike. January is ten months removed from Election Day, that is, from the only time when the workingmen—having neglected to look after their interests on previous election days—can make their political power felt.

Towards election time the capitalists seek to conceal the fact that any government elected through the old parties belongs to them, the capitalists, and is put in power for the purpose of sustaining them, the capitalists, in the exploitation and oppression of labor. If that fact was brought home to the workers shortly before Election Day, the workers might rally around their own party, the Socialist Labor Party, and take out of the hands of the capitalist class some of the political power it now enjoys. No one knows better than a trolley capitalist how seriously his interests would be crippled by the transfer of the public powers to the working class. He is, therefore, most anxious to settle labor troubles at a time of the year sufficiently distant from Election Day to allow the methods he employs to be forgotten.

The men who have been the leaders in railroad strikes have made the men believe that the best time to strike was when the public would be most inconvenienced. But experience has shown that the capitalists care very little for the convenience of the public or for its outcry at being inconvenienced. The attitude of the public concerns them only in so far as it affects their receipts. And a temporary loss in that respect is discounted when it becomes necessary to reduce the labor force to modesty and meekness. With a submissive working force any temporary losses are quickly made up, as we have illustrated above.

In January, 1896, the trolley magnates showed that this was a very good time

for them to have a strike to deal with, notwithstanding the great inconvenience imposed on the public. They did not hesitate to display most recklessly the unconditional subservience of all the government departments to their capitalist interests.

They mobilized against the strikers the whole police force, the Mayor, the Governor, the militia, the Attorney General, the judiciary.

Let us refresh our memory on some of the facts. We take them from the Eagle Almanac, which is published by a paper one of whose directors (Seth L. Keeney) was then and is now a director in the Brooklyn Heights Company.

January 14 (first day of strike): Police alert. More police called for; arrest of strikers.

Jan. 17. Strikers are repulsed by mounted police.

Jan. 19. Judge Cullen denies application for mandamus compelling Brooklyn City R. R. to run cars.

Mayor calls out militia. Entire second brigade on duty. Troops charge the strikers with bayonets and wound many; a night of bloodshed and terror.

Jan. 21. Brooklyn an armed camp; 7,000 men under arms. The first brigade, under Gen. Fitzgerald (by order of Governor Morton), reinforces the local militia. (This previous General was at the time a director of the Brooklyn City and Newton Railroad, and is now the Vice-President of the County Jail and Brooklyn Co., which has swallowed the former Company and is negotiating to be swallowed by the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Co.) Cannon in position at East New York commanding four streets. Strikers are driven back by cold steel.

Jan. 23. Troop A charges a mob in Third Ave., several men wounded by sabres. At East New York John McCormack and Henry Ahn shot by sentry. A company of Thirtieth Regiment attacked in Hick st., fires on the mob and kills Thos. Kearney (who was repairing a roof).

Jan. 25. Mayor Schieren threatens to send the militia to Greenpoint. Troop A disperses the mob.

Jan. 26. Judge Gaynor grants alternative writ of mandamus to compel companies to run cars (by giving the companies 20 days' time to answer the Judge practically nullified the writ and thus did as much for the companies as they could wish).

Feb. 3. Judge Moore instructs Grand Jury as to their duty on mob violence (showing his subservience to the capitalists).

Feb. 7. Mayor Schieren threatens to send resolutions against the companies (which had been adopted for effect only).

Feb. 12. Soldiers held blameless for the shooting of Thos. Kearney.

Feb. 14. Attorney General Hancock declines to proceed against Brooklyn Heights R. R. for annulment of charter.

March 27. President Norton and Superintendent Quinn acquitted of charge of working men's overtime.

While these things were taking place, it was quite apparent to the trolley men and to a great many of their fellow workers that the government of the old parties gave to the people is nothing but a tool of the capitalist class ready for any service which that class may need for the purpose of holding down the working class. But between the season when this fact was so brutally demonstrated and the next election day enough time intervened to allow the demonstration to be forgotten. In the fall of 1895 most of the workingmen of Brooklyn again divided their votes between the two old parties; they either supported the party of Mayor Schieren and Governor Morton, the recent allies of the trolley companies, or the party of ex-Governor Flower, who had become the new chief of trolley capitalism.

In realizing that a time remote from Election Day is the best time for the capitalists to have a strike to deal with, we are at the same time made aware that the system of organization adopted by the trolley men was the best system—for the capitalists. The events of the strike showed that the capitalists fight their battles against labor largely with political weapons. The trolley men, however, had not at all prepared themselves for a political fight. They had been misled into the belief that their efforts for better conditions had nothing to do with politics; that it was even harmful to introduce politics into their movement, because that would make it impossible to unite all, there being such wide differences of opinion in regard to politics. The organization was based on the idea that pure and simple trade union action, that is, a complete tie-up, could succeed. They did unite all on that line; there was a complete tie-up. But it turned out that the complete tie-up cannot be complete enough. They had withdrawn their own labor from the roads, but that would not have kept them tied up for more than a few days. The roads found scabs among the unemployed who crowd the labor market. The strikers saw that they could not rely upon their own unity to keep the roads tied up. They had to go out and try to hold off the increasing stream that came from the army of the unemployed. As soon as they attempted to keep off the scabs, the strikers found themselves face to face with a political contest which could no longer be decided by their unity and strength as a trade organization. What became decisive was the question of relative political power.

And for this issue the trolley men had not prepared themselves at all in the organization work which they had done. The unity which they had organized proved ineffective, and the political contest which now became all-important had been entirely neglected by the leaders on whose advice they had relied. Thus they found all the political power in the possession of the capitalists, while they and the working class that sympathized with them could command none. Owing to the fact that they had done nothing to unite themselves for political action against the capitalists, they could not even check the abuse of their political power by the capitalists through the fear of future political action on the part of the workers.

After the strike was over some things transpired that explained why the trolley men had been so badly advised by their leaders. These leaders turned up as paid henchmen of the capitalist parties. Martin Connolly, Master Workman of the Trolleymen's District Assembly, was appointed driver of the jail van as a reward for having done his best to prevent the workingmen from rebelling against the Republican party; and Giblin, the Treasurer of the District Assembly during the strike, was made a carrier of mail bags for having been

similarly useful with regard to the Democratic allies of the trolley magnates. It is evident why such leaders think it inadvisable to prepare the workingmen for political action against the capitalist parties.

That Proverbial Captain of Industry.

NEWARK, N. J.—Another specimen of the valuable "work" done by the various energetic, intelligent and noble capitalists, named Captains of Industry, is herewith given.

The Atha Illingsworth Steel Co., of here, changed its management some time ago, and young H. B. Atha is now managing affairs, in spite of his inexperience in practical and silent bamboozle and wage-cutting, such as we find superbly done from the Atlas Refining Co., through the Celluloid Co., down to Balbach's, Listers, Salomons, etc., the further down you go, the lower the wage.

Some of the men lately went on strike, scabs filled some of the places, others remained open. On the plea of it being an OPEN SHOP and no strike on, Atha's Western Agent sent 10 men from San Francisco down East here to work in Atha's hop. This cost the stockholders \$500 or thereabouts.

When the 10 men arrived here and learned the facts regarding the shop, they promptly notified H. B. Atha that he would have to recognize their union and they demanded explanation regarding the strike. He declared that he could not see why they were so obstinate as to stick to their union, but unions were not recognized there and he could do more for them than the union. (Read: He could DO them more than P. and S. Dues.)

All these men to-day have jobs in various foundries around here, and young Atha scratches his head thinking of the odd \$500 and the fact that he now MUST employ men that know well the perils of the management and superintending force shown towards the REAL workers.

That other "worker," H. B. Atha, his work is obviously clear. Fearing the dawning class-consciousness of the overworked wage-slaves, he thought to bring some outsiders, far away from their homes, but overlooking the fact that iron industries are somewhat rushed, the scheme did not "pan out."

H. B. Atha has lost quite some of his prestige among his brother-"workers" as a practical fencer, and all the shop hands are bearing a grin at the thought of H. B. Atha's great scheme.

MEANTIME we'll look to see what will happen to the Californians when things slack up and jobs get rare. Will they be obliged to "scab" to make a living, and will they then raise their protest against these Captains of Industry at the ballot-box by voting for their own class under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party? Speed the day!

LITTLE BILLY.

Abusive Language.

Each economic order of society has its religion, its literature, its interpretation of history. (See Lucien Sautola's "Genesis of Religion," Part 4, Socialist Almanac.) That which is "right" under an economic order is "wrong" under another order. The Socialist Universal Republic is now showing its head above the chaos of wreckage calling itself "Christian Civilization," or capitalistic system of production.

When worthy people read the paper christened after them with bourgeois eyes they are, of course, horrified to see Morgan Dixie, Rock-a-fellow and Rose-sitter designated as bunco stealer, thief and slave driver respectively. When other equally worthy people reading with petty traders' eyes see all small traders called, not elegantly, perhaps, but truthfully, worse thieves than others, they are exasperated. But when the old-style-trade-unionist reads that the pure and simple mode of trade organization is a fake, a snare and a combination of knave and fool, then, indeed, is the last thread snapped. "The Bosses of the S. L. P., that crowd must be overthrown, they are wrecking the S. L. P." and other like expressions are recklessly hurled around.

These, perhaps well-meaning folk, will admit that capitalism is thievery but not that capitalists are thieves; that middle-class capitalism is worse thievery than developed capitalism, because the small employer must squeeze more surplus value out of his slaves in order to profitably compete with the more developed tool of his larger adversary, but they will not admit that the small trader is a worse thief than his larger brother. And, last not least, when we stigmatize the three P's (Parsons, Pines and Prince) as Judas multiplied by three, the pure and simple "Volkzeitung" upholding element about "intolerance," "abuse," etc., etc.

For the guidance of those who honestly think the S. L. P. should temporize with error and fallacy, the following vocabulary is recommended for diligent study. First appears the capitalistic term and then follows the Socialistic definition or synonym.

Banker—DRINKER OF WIDOWS' TEARS.
Business man (small)—SNEAK-THIEF.
Business man (large)—HIGHWAY ROBBER.
Drummer—GREEN-GOODS-MAN.
Foreman—SLAVE-DRIVER.
Labor Leader (old style)—PROSTITUTE, FAKIR.
Lawyer—LIAR.
Politician—PROCURER OF VOTING CATTLE FOR CAPITALISTS.
Stockholder—RECEIVER OF STOLEN GOODS, VAMPIRE.
Trust Organizer—CAPTAIN OF BANDITS.
Wage worker—SLAVE.
A. JARROLD.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

IN PUERTO RICO.

The Socialist Labor Party Is Solemnly Organized.

SAN JUAN, P. R., Aug. 2, 1899.
To HENRY KUHN, National Secretary
S. L. P.

Greeting: After reading with great enthusiasm, and circulating among the workmen of the island, the valued letter that you addressed to our Comrade Santiago Iglesias, all of us here, who aspire to put into practice the emancipation and well being of the workingman, burned with the desire to organize ourselves in such manner as to incorporate ourselves with the great SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY of America, of whose National Executive Committee you are the worthy National Secretary.

It is now three years since we have been constantly struggling to wean our fellow wage slaves of Puerto Rico from the bourgeois-political tendencies that had so completely captivated them, due to the errors and prejudices we had been living in. But our efforts were vain under the ultra-reactionary system of the domination that has just ended and that curtailed all the citizens' rights of legitimate defence.

Now, however, that the change of nationality furnishes us with sufficient guarantees to publicly undertake the defence of our ideals, and that a vast number of Comrades, now fully enlightened upon the political parties of the bourgeoisie, are ready to secure to themselves their economic and social well being by means of their own initiative and their own efforts, we lost no time to organize ourselves to the end that, as stated above, we may become an integral part of the great Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America.

In view thereof, on the 25th day of June of this year, a large number of workmen, called to meet in deliberate assembly, gathered that day in the editorial rooms of "El Porvenir Social" (The Social Future).

Immediately after the election of the presiding officers of the assembly, the Comrade who has the honor of addressing this report to you, reported the essential object of the meeting, the same being grounded upon the general reform of the organization of the workmen of the island of Puerto Rico, upon the lines of their complete emancipation from the bourgeois political parties.

All the assembled Comrades being agreed to separate themselves completely from the political parties of capital, a detailed and careful report was then made of the letters and documents from the Socialist Labor Party of the United States, sent by you to Comrade Santiago Iglesias.

After several Comrades had explained in detail all the practical benefits to be derived through the Socialist Labor Party, and after several addresses were delivered on the class struggle that the capitalist system has established in human society, and the antagonisms were pointed out which the capitalist political parties carry within themselves, and, finally, all being convinced that it is an undeniable fact that in this world there are only two classes, to wit, one the exploited, the other the exploiter, and that our emancipation from the tyrannical and oppressive yoke of the capitalist class lies only in the organization and efforts of the working class itself, it was unanimously decided to join the great Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America.

Accordingly, with the gravest and seriousness demanded by the importance of the step to be taken, a solemn pledge was made to organize our State Committee, in accordance with the rules and regulations prescribed in the Party's constitution; and a book was forthwith opened in which the Comrades entered their names, with their own signatures, declaring their willingness to join the Socialist Labor Party.

Thereupon, the documents of our Party having been translated as well as possible, a new meeting was called for the 9th day of July of this year, to report the work done by the several committees. These were found to have satisfactorily fulfilled their duties.

After the disposal of several matters, such as voluntary contributions to establish the headquarters of the federation of all the unions, purchase of the Secretary's and Treasurer's books, as also the furnishing of the said headquarters, this State Committee was formally constituted, there having been organized three Sections in different localities of this Department: one in the town of Arecibo; and one each in the villages of Rio-Piedra and Bayamon.

Our State Committee, thus legally constituted, consists of the following members:

Ramon Romero, Secretary for the Exterior.
Rosario Pérez Félix, Secretary for the Island.
Juan Guerra Rivera, Treasurer, together with the following members from the several unions:
From the Carpenters': Santiago Iglesias and Juan Guerra.
From the Cigarmakers': Avelino Gomez and Pascasio Pérez.
From the Masons' and Bricklayers': Victor Olorio and José Rivera.
From the Compositors': José Ferrer and Ramon Romero.

From the Painters': Juan Ruiz Pérez and Martin Carrillo.
From the Blacksmiths': Felipe Rivera and Enrique Carasquillo.

From the Miscellaneous Trades: Eduardo Conde and Norberto Quifones. From the Sailors' and Seamen's: Antonio Diaz and José Balaan.

From the Stevedores': José Encarnacion and Fidel Quifones.

From the Cooks': Juan C. Hernals and Juan Cepeda.

From the Laundrymen's: Raimundo Videt and Augusto Cruz.

From the Masons' Helpers': Jaime Rivera and Manuel Ortiz.

The meeting of that day was closed with an order to have all the documents of the Party printed within the shortest time possible. This was done in several instances, as you will see from the enclosed sample of the membership card, as also of the circular that we have distributed throughout the whole island and the effect of which we shall report later.

We also enclose samples of "El Porvenir Social" containing the Programme and Declaration of Principles of our Party. We cannot yet enclose the Constitution as it is still going through the press; but it will probably reach you within a few days.

On the following 30th of July, the members of our State Committee being assembled in full meeting, the Constitution of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America was read. The same was listened to with great attention and pleasure.

It was then ordered that the Secretary of the Committee take note of and transmit to the National Executive Committee all that has been done, so as to follow closely the regulations of the Constitution.

Then the cards for the application of members were distributed after each member had signed and satisfactorily answered all the questions contained in said document, their attention being called to the fact that in order to assist and participate actively in the meetings of the committee and of the assemblies (Sections) of the Party, the card of membership is needed.

It was then ordered that a Manifesto of the Party be published, as also the Municipal Programme for our Territory. The same were approved and copies will be sent you.

It was ordered to hold public meetings and carry on all manner of propaganda for the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America.

A vote of confidence was given to the State Committee, empowering it to conduct the campaign for municipal offices that are to be filled in this municipality of San Juan.

In conclusion, we wish to say that our propaganda is very active. We hold frequent meetings, and they result in favor of our ideas. The workingmen are being rapidly converted, and they join the Socialist Labor Party in good faith.

Our local organ of Puerto Rico is "El Porvenir Social," whose director is Comrade Santiago Iglesias.

[Here follows a detailed list of Party supplies asked for, and attached to this letter are the signed applications of over 300 members for three Sections: Arecibo, Rio-Piedra and Bayamon.]

Secretary for the Exterior.

SANTIAGO IGLESIAS, Organizer.

The Slaters of Slatersville.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., August 19.—A seaman out of a berth, I shipped aboard the three-master steam yacht "Sagamore," Mr. W. Slater, owner, just then out of her builder's hands. She had cost Mr. Slater a round quarter of a million dollars.

Her crew was a full set of firemen and engineers, oilers, etc., sailing master, navigator, two mates, boatswain, two cooks, two stewards and seven men afore the mast. After stocking up at Newport, we commenced our summer cruise up and down the coast. Champagne flowed in streams and the doctors were overworked trying to invent new-fangled dishes.

Mr. Slater kept a retinue of female admirers on the boat continually; feasting and carousing went on day and night.

All this while the mill workers were struggling along on seven or eight dollar a week, piling up the major part of the proceeds of their labor for their profligate master to squander chasing after pleasure. Every family at the mills could have been furnished a comfortable house, with a patch of land to it, for what their master spent in one summer.

I left the "Sagamore." Have afterwards been shipmate, so to speak, afterwards been shipmate, so to speak, with many monstrous exploiters of labor on their yachts, and can testify that THE PEOPLE, in describing the different species of the capitalist crew, does it with accuracy and truthfulness. That the spicily worded articles in THE PEOPLE should be deemed abusive by some correspondents is somewhat uncanny, or at least considered as by everyone that has shed his milkteeth. All honor to the bold defenders that routed the anarchists. We are a national Party and not the pocket edition of some European movement, to be manipulated by a clique for private gain.

EX-SAILOR.

Afternoon & Evening Pic Nic

for the benefit of the

VICTIMIZED TROLLEY MEN,

will be held under the auspices of the

Wendell Phillips Association, R. R. Men,

(L. A. 264 S. T. & L. A.)

At ULMER PARK, on Sunday Afternoon and Evening August 27th, 1899.

Speakers DANIEL DE LEON, ARTHUR KEET and others.

Music by L. A. 1076.

Tickets 25 Cents each.

Directions to the Park: Take 2nd Ave. or 6th surface car from the Bridge Street to the Park.

THE PEOPLE.

Published by the Socialist Labor Party, Henry Kuhn
National Secretary, at 61 Southern Bk.,
Room 308, New York.
— EVERY SUNDAY —

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enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the New
York, N. Y., Post office on April 6, 1891.



SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)..... 2,068
In 1890..... 13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)..... 21,157
In 1894..... 33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)..... 36,564
In 1898..... 82,204

"A poor, ignorant creature," is a common
term of reproach, as if poverty and igno-
rance must be inseparable. If a list could
be obtained of the rich ignorant people, it
would be no flattering document to stick
on the door of the temple of Mammon.

SAMUEL LOVER.

Rumors reach us that the Volkszeitung Publishing Association's application to the Courts for a preliminary injunction, restraining the S. L. P. from using "THE PEOPLE" as the name of its official national organ, has been or will be granted, on the ground that the paper is the private property of the Volkszeitung Publishing Association. The Tammany Judge thus would furnish an additional link in the evidence that Tammany is back of the Kangaroos, and that it is willing to aid them in the game of bluff, for bluff and only bluff the whole thing is: Neither Tammany Hall nor its Kangaroos for a moment imagine that upon the trial of this matter the Party could be defeated in its rights. They do, however, evidently imagine that they can discourage or bluff the Party. Accordingly, the temporary injunction is to be granted against our using the name "The People" pending the trial of the case. But the Party will not be discouraged, nor will it be bluffed, and it will fight the case to a finish.

In the meantime if the rumors prove true, then the Party's organ may have to temporarily assume a new name. The comrades, friends and readers generally, are, accordingly, notified that in such an eventuality the paper will appear under some other name. The distinguishing mark "Henry Kuhn, Nat'l Sec'y", placed now to the right of the date, will continue there as a means of identification. But all this is merely precautionary. In all probability THE PEOPLE will preserve the honored name that is so much prized by its foes.

THE VOICE OF WASHINGTON STATE.

SEATTLE, Wash., July 19, 1899.
At a regular meeting of the State Committee S. L. P. of the State of Washington, it was by unanimous vote ordered, that the corresponding secretary write to all the sections and members at large of Washington, notifying them of the usurpation of "Volkszeitung" malcontents of the city, state and national functions of the Socialist Labor Party at New York.

That we condemn the same, demand their expulsion from the Party, and warn said Sections and members, at large not to endorse or recognize said usurping malcontents; to send them no money or other assistance until otherwise officially notified, and especially not to recognize what we believe to be a bastard sheet issued by said bogus national committee, and issued under the name of our national organ.

F. J. DEAN, Secretary.

A NESTOR THAT IS NONE.

Circuit Judge John W. Henry, said to be the Nestor of Kansas City lawyers, has just rendered a boycott decision. His utterance, tho' not extraordinary remarkable for much freshness, is noteworthy, nevertheless, as being the latest utterance from the Bench on the subject; it is, moreover, noteworthy for the clearness of its language.

The case was a strike, followed by a boycott by a local waiters' union against a local innkeeper. The matter came into Court; the Court decided against the men. The decision contains this passage:

"There are certain rights of American citizens recognized by the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of every State in the Union and by every honest citizen. Among these: The right of every man to set a price upon his own labor; the right of every one to fix the price which he will pay for the labor of another, and neither has the right to compel the other to accept his terms; the right of everyone to conduct a legitimate business without interference or hindrance from others."

So far, no one can justly find fault with the statement. In fact, it is a

remarkably forcible presentation of the underlying principle of our present system of laws, to wit, the principle that labor is a bit of merchandise, in no way different from bricks, beef, potatoes, or yards of cloth. The owner of bricks, beef, potatoes and yards of cloth may set what price he will on his goods; the purchasing public has the correlative right of buying at the price set or refusing to. So with the workman. He owns the merchandise Labor; he has, accordingly, the right to set on it what price he will; it is his privilege;—and likewise it is the privilege of the purchasers of his stock in trade, the same as when they want to buy bricks, beef, potatoes or what not, to either buy at the price demanded or leave the goods alone.

From these premises the lawyer Nestor of Kansas City, draws with fiendish pleasure and relentless logic conclusions that can not be gainsaid. But he dwells upon them with a satisfaction that is hardly Nestor-like.

A Nestor is a being of many years and corresponding experience. Youth, inexperienced through lack of years, may be excused for believing that which it sees to be of all time, and, consequently, for all time. Not so with a Nestor. Having reached the years of Nestorship, he must have plenty of experience back of him, experience that tells him in notes, louder even than those in which the Party is now summoning the Kangaroos to their doom, that what he sees to-day, was not so yesterday, is not of all time, and, consequently, neither will be for all time. This important feature of Nestorship is absent from the Kansas City specimen. The satisfaction with which he expresses the belief that the present merchandise feature of Labor will last, the features that degrade and keep the working class in subjection; the satisfaction with which he looks at the "American Institutions" that are the groundwork of such a (to the idle capitalist class) beneficent state of things sounds just the reverse of Nestor-like.

But besides being the reverse of a Nestor in experience, Judge Henry of Kansas City is none in the amount of positive knowledge that, it is not too much to expect, one may look to from a Nestor.

The Constitution of the United States and of all the States have other clauses besides those that tickle the capitalist ockles of Judge Henry's heart; notably there is a clause that is a wide gate for the healthy gusts of fresh air: THE AMENDMENT CLAUSE. Labor, a merchandise to-day, and bearing the full disgrace of such a condition, will be a merchandise no longer the moment that, through the Amendment Gate, the Working Class walk into the sanctuary of statute-built capitalist property. From that moment the "Institutions" that render Labor a merchandise will crumble, and Labor, emancipated from thrall that to-day allows the Nestors A la Judge Henry to walk over it like flies over beef on the hooks of the butcher's stalls, will hold a language that will frighten Nestorship out of its silly wits.

BUTCHERS AND ANTI-SEMITISM.

An item in a press despatch from Paris last week must have looked odd to many.

Jules Guérin, the President of the Anti-Semitic League, being besieged by the Police and Military of Paris at the League's headquarters, a big demonstration was held in its behalf in the Boulevard de Magenta and the Rue Lafayette. The press despatch gives the matter very much in detail, and somewhere throws in the astounding information: "The affair was organized by the butchers in favor of Guérin."

By the butchers? What special relation is there between the butchers' trade and Anti-Semitism? Anti-Semitism is upheld by its upholders as something supremely ethereal and spiritual; the most enthusiastic butcher will hardly claim that much for his profession; where do the two come together?

To look for the point of contact between the two on the surface of things would be going on the hunt for a mare's nest. The two DO come together, there IS a point of contact between them; there IS a spot where they do run into one. To find that, however, one must be armed with the key of Socialist science, that enables one to see below the surface of things. The vulgar bourgeois caricature of science, with the topsyturvy get-up, claps the blinkers over the eyes; Socialism tears the blinkers off and enables one to see.

The butchers, mostly, overwhelmingly so, have long had a grievance against that part of Semitism that their business runs up against. Gentle, as well as Semitic physicians, recommend with greater frequency than is agreeable to the Gentle butcher, that their patients patronize the Jewish butcher shop.

What through the Mosaic prescriptions and the traditions of old, that have resisted the inroads that capitalism usually makes upon principle, the meat, sold in Jewish shops, has the reputation of being more wholesome. Keenly competing one with all, the Gentle butcher finds his Semitic competitor equipped with a power of attraction that renders the Gentle's advertisement less effective, and his pulling-in schemes considerably weaker. The material interests of the Gentle butchers exhale Anti-Semitic breaths. A demonstration in

favor of the President of the Anti-Semitic League, organized by the butchers of Paris, is, accordingly, a thing that, however much it will puzzle the non-Socialist, is as natural a phenomenon as ducks taking to mill-ponds.

The incident of the butchers' demonstration in favor of Mr. Guérin may be too trifling for much importance to be attached to the capacity of seeing thro' it. Nevertheless the fundamental principle that enables these equipped therewith, to penetrate that trifling mystery, enables them also to penetrate mysteries of greater pith and moment. It builds up the class-conscious proletarian; it blossoms into the pride of the age that completest man—the SOCIALIST; it is a corner stone of that grandest of organisms, big with all the glories of Civilization,—the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Well for Bryan! All sorts of rumors being afloat as to Bryan's views on what is the most important issue, and particularly as to whether he has fallen from grace on the 16 to 1 question, he gets himself interviewed in Omaha, and through the various trombones, clarinets and penny and other whistles of the press of the land, his sonorous voice rings out clear, as follows:

"The trust question is a great question, but we cannot make peace with the money trust. In order to attack a tooth-pick trust."

Well for Bryan! In these days of chameleon characters, the man who stands out clear is a rare jewel. Bryan typifies the Democratic party, the Democratic party typifies the utopian element in the land, with their faces to their backs, ignorant of the present and what it means, taking the branch-results of capitalism for its root-causes. Well for Bryan that he, the type of a back number party, squarely stands for a heels-over-head policy. It were simply absurd for the type of such a party to do so sensible a thing as to perceive that a tooth-pick trust is much nearer the root than the whole money trust so-called.

This Jimenez revolution of Santo Domingo is hanging fire in a silly way. Where is the hitch? Can the capitalist interests in the United States, at the bottom of the affair, not come to an agreement? Is the hitch on the shares of soon-to-be-crucified Santo Domingo's coat? Or can it be that the Dominican people have too bad a reputation for submissiveness, and the American capitalists feel apprehensive on the score of the "Law and Order" that the regular flow of their dividends will require?

Oh, for light on this approaching incident of the stock-jobbers' market!

It is a scurvy trick that Municipal Justice Thomas C. Kadon has just played upon the "tax-payers" "Volkszeitung" brigade. Instead of coming to the aid of the brigade as the brigade tries to come to the aid of the Tammany Hall Democracy, this Justice gives the brigade a kick in the mouth. He decides that the war tax on beer has to be paid by the brewers and that they may not shift the burden to the shoulders of the retailer by an implied contract.

Attention is called of the comrades and friends in New York and vicinity to the picnic for the benefit of our comrades, the trolley-men, who were victimized by the recent strike. Take "West-End" cars at the New York end of the Bridge, or "86th street and 5th avenue," or "3rd avenue and Ulmer Park." For all other information see the advertisement.

The affair promises to be both pleasurable and inspiring. It will be a positive demonstration.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Pittsburg, Pa., "Retail Merchants' Review" is building upon quicksands. Arguing upon the necessity for securing legislation to "protect the interests" of the small retail grocers, it says:

"There are about six thousand retail grocers in the State. Do you realize what a power they could be in politics if closely united and working together?"

The "if" in this case is of colossal proportions. "If" united and working together, certainly! But there is the rub. No class is less able to work unitedly together than just the small middle class. The upper capitalists may yet have conflicting interests, but being few, unity of action is easier; the middle class, however, with its large, tho' declining numbers, and its petty conflicting interests can not be brought together. They can not afford to yield to one another; their margin of profit is too narrow; there is no more centrifugal force known than the middle class, particularly in these days when the storm of capitalism drives the workers together and correspondingly drives the small fry apart.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. No Socialist even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 147 E. 23d street, N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

The receipt of a sample copy of "THE PEOPLE" is an invitation to subscribe.

THE EVOLUTION

Of Taxation from Feudal to Capitalist Society.

Turgot's maxim: "Taxation is the art of plucking the goose without making her cry," was by no means a purely humorous utterance. It truly stated the modern character of taxation. There was, indeed, a time when the levying of taxes was by no means an art, although the taxpayer was already a goose.

In the earlier part of the feudal period wage labor did not exist. The domestic servants of the lord were actual slaves, while the villeins, bound to the soil, eked a living out of it subject to any service which the lord deemed fit to impose. Gradually, however, not only these services became less arbitrary, more fixed in kind and quantity, but a growing number of them were either absolutely commuted or made optionally commutable into specified sums of money. At the same time and by the action of these changes, the villen class was steadily differentiating into two sub-classes more and more distinct: one beginning to own, ever so precariously, the tools of production; the other owning nothing but its labor power. The latter got "wages" in money or in kind, which were in fact a portion of its product; while the latter got the remaining portion (the surplus value) as "profits," less the rent and taxes exacted by the lord. Of course, inasmuch as the employer was also, in those days, a worker, he got in that double capacity the full product of his own labor, less a proportionate share of rent and taxes. In other words, he got that portion of his product which he would otherwise have had to pay to a wage worker, plus that remainder, or surplus value, which he would anyhow have appropriated to himself, subject to the exactions of his lord.

Manifestly, then, both the rent and the taxes came out of the "surplus value" and not out of the "wages." They affected the condition of the employer, as such, and not the condition of the worker, as such.

It is evident, also, that the value of labor power for a given period of greater or less duration, was fundamentally determined by the standard of requirements of the wage workers in that period, not only regardless of rent, taxes and other seigniorial exactions, but even regardless of the prices of necessities. For a long time these workers received but little money; they were, as a rule, fed by their masters, and most of them, in the city as well as in the country, slept under their masters' roof. So long as nothing occurred of such widespread economic importance as to bring about a sensible modification of their standard of requirements, their fare remained substantially the same, whether taxes and prices increased or decreased. In other terms, wages, expressed in necessities, remained the same; expressed in money, they followed prices.

But incidentally, at rare intervals, events took place that brought about a modification of the standard of requirements; for the "labor market" was already then, as it is now—though less fitfully then than now—subject to variations, consequent upon any marked change that might occur in the ratio between the supply of labor and the demand for it. For instance, after the great plague of 1349, that swept off a large portion of the population of England, labor became "extremely dear." But all attempts to reduce it—first by royal proclamation, and at last by the famous "Statute of Laborers," which provided fines, imprisonment and corporal chastisements for its enforcement—proved abortive. Again, the growth of the industrial arts, by drawing labor from agriculture to the cities, caused a steady rise in the value of labor power, despite all further attempts of Parliament to keep down, not only wages, but the standard of living by regulating the diet and apparel of laborers, servants, artificers, etc.

Coincidentally with this improvement in the condition of the laboring class, the "burden of taxation" increased steadily. The monarchial power having everywhere risen above the feudal structure could no longer depend upon the revenues of the royal domain for the means of meeting its enlarged and constantly enlarging expenditure. As the agricultural tenantry had to support the lords, and as every demand of the king upon the lords was apt to be followed by some attempt of the latter to shift the burden upon their tenants, thereby creating widespread discontent, the chief source of royal income was obviously to be found in the growing wealth of cities.

The diversity of this wealth, of its forms, uses, origin and destination, permitted also of a far greater variety of taxing devices than the raw produce of the land. Its value could by no means be so well ascertained, and some of it could readily escape detection. No small part of it depended for its continued production upon the skill, knowledge and secrets of individuals, who could not be bound to the soil and must not be frightened away. The process of taxation, which in the purely agricultural period consisted in the mere brutal act of directly taking the goose and plucking her openly, now became, as Turgot termed it, an "art" full of refinement and requiring proper consideration for the feelings of the goose.

Aye, it became a wonderful art. To such extent wonderful that in the course of time it made the goose cry for more plucking of the right sort; the plucking, namely, of her sister goose. This seemed to make her fat at the expense of that sister. By taxation, with proper discrimination, each trade was protected from the other trades, each nation from the other nations, and in every case the stronger mercantile adventurer from the weaker.

There were impostos, duties and prohibitions of all kinds, according to every possible mode of taxation, except the so-called "equal" one, invented later by Adam Smith and found impracticable. That the taxes fell somewhere, no one doubted; but upon whom many of them fell was a matter of dispute. The same tax, in fact, according to circumstances, seemed to fall now upon one, then upon another.

For these and many kindred reasons there was a feeling at times that things might be better than they were; that the luxury of kings, ever so profitable to a few tradesmen, was not a boon to the

others, who were "the many"; that the discrimination, so necessary in taxation matters, was not what it should be; that the lords and the high clergy, who owned the land and lived sumptuously upon "rent" (exactod for the use of the God-given sources of existence and wealth), contributed but little, if anything, to the support of government; and that what in reason ought to be free from all burdens and impediments was "Labor." Not, of course, the labor of the laborers, who were mere beasts of burden and got their accustomed provender under all circumstances, but the labor of their employers, who by means of industry, thrift and enterprise carried the whole social structure.

To one king at least these remonstrances were not unpleasant. He was the king of France, Louis XV., hard pressed for money. Between one debauch and another he listened complacently to his physician, Dr. Quesnay, the original prophet of the single tax ("l'impôt Unique"). So did in our days the trolley king, Tom Johnson, between two franchise grabs, listen to Henry George, the revivalist of Quesnay with a few humbugological improvements. But the lords were too strong for such a weak king as Louis-the-beloved, and it required a mighty revolution—not to tax them, for this would have been a mere fiscal bourgeois reform—but to dispossess them entirely. And when at last the lords were dispossessed, when at last their landed possessions were stepped into by the middle class, this fully emancipated class, now its own king also, knew enough to forget Quesnay and his single tax. Not until the present day, not until the American plutocracy had emerged from the conflict of middle class interests, could a country be seen gradually advancing towards this ideal capitalistic tax. Irresistibly, spontaneously as it were, by the mere action of its economic forces and in utter disregard of its fiscal legislation.

It is but little over a century since the true capitalistic era began with the introduction of steam-moved machinery. But all the countries did not enter it at the same time. England inaugurated it; then France; then, fifty years ago, Germany. Such countries as Austria, Italy and Russia have still more lately entered it. In each of the old nations the mode of taxation had grown in accordance with its economic conditions. As they crossed the line between the previous industrial system and the new, they had to adapt their respective fiscal arrangements to the double action of internal and external developments. This was a slow and difficult task. Traditions, modes and standards of living, long established interests, class differences, etc., stood in the way of "reform" at every step. England herself did not find it easy to overcome the opposition of the very men who were to be most benefited by a change of fiscal policy. Owing chiefly to the imbecility of her own capitalists—for the capitalists, as a class, necessarily imbued with that spirit of selfishness that must guide them in all their business operations, are everywhere short-sighted, narrow-minded and conservative, all popular notions to the contrary notwithstanding—it was not until nearly the middle of this century that Great Britain repealed her "corn laws" and initiated "free trade," which she had then to carry on alone, whereas she could have imposed it upon the Continental nations at the end of the Napoleonic wars. To this day Europe retains, for national and municipal revenue purposes, some of the most obnoxious taxes imposed in the Middle Ages.—Lucien Saniel in "Socialist Almanac," Supplement No. 3.

Fair was the Day.

(To my friend and comrade, Martha Moore Avery, the following verses, delivered at South Farnham, Mass., July 30, '99, are most respectfully inscribed, for the anniversary reunion of the Karl Marx classes of Boston and vicinity, 1829, by Byron Efford, Revere, Mass.)

O fair was the day, and still fairer the hour,
When a mother of Treves gave a son not in vain;
Who beholding proud England consume labor power,
Marx opened in science the map of her reign;

Not the tricks of bold Europe alone did he ferret,
But marked it the classic spot in the world's shame;
O, then as we triumph, remember his merit,
And honor the classes that meet in his name.

The heart of the system in darkness lay hidden
Till his magical brain poured forth the white light;
From France and from Belgium, the world saw him drive,
For espousing the cause of the workers' great fight;

And the grave "Manifesto," now shining in history,
Served as basis of high international claim;
O, then in the splendor of on-coming victory,
Let us honor the classes that meet in his name.

Though anxious and tireless his life was expended,
In work for the workers, to study with care,
Though he died ere our Party in Boston ascended,
To light, the fierce struggle of doubt and despair;

The storms he endured in his great life's December,
The knowledge his science foresaw and o'er-came,
In our Party's rich harvest shall comrades remember
And honor the classes that meet in his name.

Nor forget his companion, who, in tender affection,
By the side of her dead whom love could not save,
With no basket, no money in death's dark affliction,
To protect against want or the mold of the grave;

Though thy name does not mingle with saints or with angels,
The reign of thy virtue, sweet Jenny, we claim,
And with tribute to Marx join the friendship of Engels,
Though a tear dims the eye as we murmur thy name.

Tet lads, give a cheer, and change the sad measure,
The rites of our grief and our sorrow to stay;
To our Party and comrades, devote now the measure,
The wisdom to plan, and the zeal to obey;

Then up with the banner, and sing its great glory,
Forget not brave Sections who fan the bright flame;
A hundred years' hence, men shall feed on the story,
And honor the classes that meet in our name.

"A fourth 5,000 edition of the pamphlet 'What Means this Strike?' is now out. Its large sale is a gratifying sign of the times, and it is an evidence of the class of literature that is most useful and, consequently, best called for."

A second 5,000 edition of the pamphlet "Reform or Revolution" has also recently left the press.



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan.

BROTHER JONATHAN (with dancing eyes).—Did you see that Court Union meeting of the striking "tax" composers?

UNCLE SAM.—Yes, I was there.
B. J.—Wasn't it grand?
U. S.—In what way? The size of the meeting?

B. J.—No; not that; but the magnificent example of unity of action! Did you notice the men on the platform?

U. S.—I did.
B. J.—Wasn't it beautiful? Wasn't it inspiring to see so many men of different views, different political convictions all united to boycott that capitalist paper, and punch that capitalist concern?

U. S.—Can't say I agree with you. Can't say the sight was inspiring. Can say that "so many men of different political views" did present "the union front" that could really punch that capitalist paper. So you see I can't see that.

B. J. (disgusted).—Is there anything that WILL entuse you Socialists?

U. S.—Yes, indeed, I'll tell you what would entuse us. A gathering of men who HAVE cohesive power. You gathering on that platform was such; and only gatherings that do have cohesive power are able to do so punching. That gathering was a STRONG though it may have been LARGE, no stronger than a mountain of sand.

B. J.—So you would like to have everybody think just like you?

U. S.—Do not unless people, gathered together, DO think just alike on important matters can they develop unity of action and the force necessary to PUNCH. As it was, you had Republicans and Democrats, Free Silverites and Gold Standardites, Socialists and Single Taxers, New Trade Unionists and Labor Fakirs—all were there. Now, only spot where a capitalist concern is punishable is its political side; accordingly, only to the end of giving a political punch is unity of purpose possible. And how on earth do you expect unity of purpose from such a heterogeneous crowd as that?

B. J.—W—w—e—i—i—

U. S.—Simply impossible. As the capitalist concern in question knew that, and feels correspondingly safe from that only weak side, how much do you imagine it cares how many people gathered on that platform? IT has eyes. IT saw there a large crowd with no more cohesive power to do it harm than a sand hill, and it felt safe and happy. See?

B. J.—W—w—e—i—i—

U. S.—There is no WELL about it. There is much, however, that is WRONG. It is fit to make one bare a blood vessel to see these pure and simple tactics persisted in, and thus have the capitalist's hands played into. Had there been on that platform one-half the people who were there, but class-consciously united, then there would have been something to entuse over. Then would the "Sun" have felt the blow—and, Jonathan, the day WILL come when that will be so. Pure and simple warfare may be beautiful, but it is not war, and nothing but WAR can be effective. Drop your illusions.

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